/103 cont./

● 127 We know little about the other Indian cultures of southern Colombia existing at the time of the Conquista. The conquistadors had tasks other than drawing up scientific ethnographic descriptions of their cruel enemies. Nevertheless, working with subtle methods, modern ethnological and linguistic research in the old sources has produced outstanding results.

114 Our knowledge is very inadequate with regard to the Paez,
127 who, with approximately 25,000 persons, constitute the largest
[16] non-Spanish-speaking population group within Colombia, next to the Goajiro, the inhabitants of the Guajira Peninsula in the northern part of the country. The oldest dates come from
[797] Eugenio Castillo i Orosco, who, from 1735-1755, was active as a missionary in Tálaga -- often at the risk of his life, as he reports -- and wrote down a vocabulary, a grammar, and some cultural data about the Paez. This manuscript was printed in 1877. Further ethnological data are given by the Colombian general, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, who, on his extensive journeys, also traveled through the Tierradentro region from north to south and produced the first reports about its archeological cultures. The next one, in terms of time, to report on the Paez was the American ethnologist, Henri Pittier de Fábrega, who in 1906, coming out of the central part of the Cauca Valley from the northwest by way of Corinto and Toribió, spent a few days in Tacueyó and Huila. Georg Bürg, who first investigated the archeological objects of Tierradentro more thoroughly, likewise lived for a time among the Paez and gives a few ethnographic notes in his report. In his comprehensive survey of the highland tribes of southern Colombia, Gregorio Hernandez de Alba also reports about the Paez, with whom he became acquainted in connection with his own research. Graciliano Arcila Velez undertook a blood-group examination on 303 Paez. The first thorough special study of Paez culture from the standpoint of the religious and social life was made at the time of our stay in Tierradentro by the Director of the Archeological Park of San Andrés, Segundo Bernal Villa.

1: Nachtigall--19 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

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Since, therefore, a total description of the culture of the Paez does not yet exist, a tribal monograph on the Paez is herewith presented in the following, in which, besides the data from my own investigations, the results of the earlier investigators have been incorporated. Much will have escaped me -- as a result of the short time at my disposal and the inaccessibility of the population -- much that was part of the domestic economy /104/ of Paez culture has already been destroyed as a result of advancing civilization and is therefore lost forever. In the following description of the cultural heritage of the Paez a division has been made, for working purposes, with regard to material and spiritual culture and with regard to the description of social forms. In practice a sharp line of demarcation cannot normally be drawn within a culture between these aspects of it, since these three areas do not lead a separate existence, but are closely bound up with the acting human being as the creator and bearer of culture. This is true to a greater extent for primitive peoples, where all areas of human activity are much more closely linked together, than in modern high culture where the individual sectors of activity are specialized to a high degree and accordingly may be treated and investigated separately. Thus if, for practical reasons, in the following tribal description the form of settlement is described under material culture and shamanism under spiritual culture, nevertheless both factors are also of great importance from the sociological point of view. Conversely, family organization, for example, as part of the description of society, is also very closely bound up with the economy and techniques in the primarily material realm, and also with religion.

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2. Demography

Altogether the Tierradentro area embraces about 5,000 square kilometers, of which about 3,000 square kilometers fall in the region north of the Rio Ullucus. Its 18 villages are divided into two municipios (administrative districts) /see the glossary, p.249 /, the southern one of which includes three villages with Inzá as the seat of the administration, while the northern one

/263 cont./

fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by themselves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be employed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in accordance with his signs.

The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):

*I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

čandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), bičač (Hevea?), čulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsflyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tátse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the armpits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a tea brewed from the leaves.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

ETHNOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC NOTES ON THE PAEZ INDIANS OF TIERRA ADENTRO, CAUCA, COLOMBIA

By H. PITTIER DE FÁBREGA

Introduction

Very little is known of the ethnology of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western and central cordilleras of Colombia and the intervening broad valley of Cauca. The early historians and chroniclers have left only long lists of more or less confused tribal names, along with the recital of the protracted war of extermination conducted with conscienceless and selfish cruelty by the conquistadores. With few exceptions modern writers have found little or no opportunity to deal with what is left of these interesting people.

With special reference to the Paez Indians, who are the subject of these notes, our notions have hitherto been derived almost exclusively from the materials collected by Castillo y Orozco about 1735, and published in 1877 with brief analytical notes by the late Colombian scholar, Señor Don Ezequiel Uricoechea.[1]

Early in 1906 the writer visited the section of the central cordillera inhabited by the Paez, staying a few days at two of their principal villages, namely, at Tacueyó, at the headwaters of the Palo river on the western side of the mountains, and at Huila, at the junction of the Paez and San Vicente rivers, on the Indian reservation known as Tierra Adentro. The personnel of the expedition, in addition to the author, with a few friends and two servants, consisted of native Indians, so that good opportunities were afforded for becoming familiar with the Paez language and to gain an insight into native manners and customs.

[1] Eujenio del Castillo i Orozco, *Vocabulario Páez-Castellano, Catecismo, Nociones gramaticales i dos Pláticas*, (publicado) *con Adiciones, Correcciones i un Vocabulario Castellano-Páez*, por Ezequiel Uricoechea. Paris: 1877.

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[731] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[127] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[491] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
[628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated,

?:Hernández de Alba E-5;†(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

101 from the *Pdez*, the *Pdez* from the *Pijao*, the *Andaqui* from the *Tama*
131 of Bajo Huila.

241 This extremely varied habitat offers a great range of food resources
133 and of possibilities for agricultural crops. In the high, cold moun-
132 tains and altiplanos, between 2,500 and 3,000 m. (about 8,200 to 9,800 ft.) elevation, where the mean temperature is 11 to 15° C., the principal crops were potatoes (*Solanum andigenum*), ullucos (*Ullucus tuberosus*), and cubios (*Tropaeolum tuberosum*). In the medium zone, between 1,600 and 2,500 m. (about 5,200 to 8,200 feet), with a temperature of 15 to 20° C., the main crop was maize (*Zea mays*), but arracacha (*Arracacia esculenta*), quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*), and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), were also cultivated. In the low, warm zone between 500 to 1,600 m. (about 1,600 to 5,200 feet), with a temperature of 20 to 28° C., the main crops were maize, sweet manioc or yuca (*Manihot utilissima*) and beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*).

136 The cold lands also produced in addition to these principal crops,
[241] maize, squash (*Cucurbita maxima*), wild fruits, birds including ducks (Anatidae), doves (Columbidae), guans (*Penelope*), mammals such as the spectacled bear (*Tremarctos ornatus majori*), and other small, wild beasts like the armadillo (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), guaratinajo (*Dinomys branickii*), guatin (*Dasyprocta fuliginosa candelensis*), and
[231] small fish from the rivers and lakes. The guinea pig (curí or cuy,
[262] *Cavia aperea*), which is prolific in all the climates, was the only domesticated animal and is an important source of food of the modern Indians.

241 The inhabitants of the medium, humid zone were more favored by nature in that crops grew faster and in greater variety. In addition to the plants named, they grew achira (*Canna edulis*), auyama (*Cucurbita verrucosa*), beans (frijoles), and peanuts (*Arachis hypogaea*).
262 Among the great variety of wild foods were fruits, granadilla (*Passi-*
137 *flora ligularis*), guayaba (*Psidium*), guama (*Inga* spp.), avocados
136 (*Persea Americana*), papaya (*Carica papaya*), guanabana (*Annona muricata*), and chirimoya (*Annona cherimolia*), and such animals as deer (*Mazama rufina*, *M. gualea*, and *Odocoileus virginianus consul*), rabbits (*Sylvilagus fulvescens*), guinea pigs, various rodents, and large birds, such as chachalacas (*Ortalis*) and guans (*Penelope*).

Additional foods of the low, warm regions were sweet potatoes, beans (frijoles), and yams (*Dioscorea alata*); such fruits as pineapples (*Ananas sativus*), papaya, custard apple (*Annona squamosa*), cactus fruit (*Opuntia* spp.), and plantains (*Musa paradisaica*); and large fish from the rivers.[4]

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[4] The scientific names of the plants were taken from Cortés, 1919. The mammals were tentatively identified by Dr. Remington Kellogg, of the Division of Mammals, U. S. National Museum, and the birds by Dr. Alexander Wetmore, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

T:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no data) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

heights of Cuetando, where they built a hut and planted a miniature field as proof of their masculine aptitude.

Education.—Today the Indians are educated principally by their parents in the customs and tasks pertaining to each sex. Some boys and a few girls are sent to the few missionary schools, where they are given religious instruction and are taught Spanish, arithmetic, geography, the history of Colombia, and modern embroidery or light basketwork. The *Páez* are reluctant to send their daughters to the schools because they feel that women should keep the traditions of their people. The missionary schools strive to change the native language and the cultural traditions which have given the Indian community social cohesion.

Marriage.[11]—Formerly polygyny was prevalent, but now Catholicism has imposed monogamy. The Indians continue, however, to practice trial marriage (amaño). A marriage is arranged as follows:

The bride is selected by the young man's parents or by himself. His parents and two witnesses or godparents then visit her house to request her for the groom. They also serve as advisors to the young woman, in case she disapproves the marriage. The visitors carry half-filled bottles of rum (aguardiente) and some special garments for the girl. The young man's father offers the girl's father a half-bottle, acceptance of which means, as usual among the *Páez*, that the second party is well disposed toward the proposal and the negotiations may proceed. If the girl's mother agrees, the boy's mother presents her a half-bottle of liquor. The godfather or witness gives another half-bottle to the girl's father and the godmother gives one to the mother. The visitors now leave, taking the girl, who then begins a year of trial marriage, during which the young man seeks proof that the girl is able to bear children, is active, cooks well, can weave, and can cultivate the land. After the trial period, the man may return the girl to her parents or they marry in the Catholic Church, holding a feast which, like all such celebrations, is called a "cuido." The couple and their parents and godparents are accompanied by an orchestra (chirimía) to the house where the feast is to be held. Here the bride puts on a modern dress, a ribbon on her hair, necklaces, and earrings, while the groom is with his godfather. As the guests arrive, chicha is distributed frequently, music is played, and then there is a feast of thick soup, generally with chicken, cooked yuca, arracacha, and roast or baked meat. In the afternoon, after more music and chicha drinking, the "refresco," really a banquet or social communion, is served. Six bottles of wine made from cane molasses, cinnamon, and cloves, and cake are given to the bride, groom, godmother, and godfather, who give some to everyone present. A prayer, led by the head of the house, then asks the souls of the dead to bless the marriage and give permission to dance. First, the godfather dances with the bride, then the godmother with the groom, after which everyone dances. The feast lasts 5 days, depending on the wealth of the family. Chicha is served and accepted with the phrase, "May God pay you, compadrito, for accompanying us. Accompany us more."

Death.—At a death, the family formerly buried the deceased inside the house with his possessions, and abandoned it. Some communities, however, preferred to cremate the body or dry it over the fire. The

[11] I thank my wife and companion, Helena Ospina de Hernández, for her research in 1936 on matrimonial matters.

/167 cont./

601 Seemingly there is no terminology for designating the older and younger brothers of the generation of EGO, although in practice this distinction stands out. EGO is obliged to greet older brothers and the older members of the community in general, and there also exists the obligation of being greeted by the younger brothers and, in general, by all the younger members of the community.

Among the adults of both sexes, married and with children, the use of teknonymous forms is general.

114 /168/ The only two studies of kinship systems made in Colombia are from the pen of Professor Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff working among the Iroka and the Kogi. That of the Iroka was [104] done with the collaboration of Alexander L. Clark. With the intention of facilitating subsequent comparative studies on the subject, we have adopted his system for presenting the materials, especially the abbreviations of the kinship terms in the Spanish language /the English equivalents for the abbreviations of the Spanish terms are given on p. 10 /.

• 127 Before finishing with this brief introduction, we wish to
128 place on record our sincere thanks to Señor Víctor Bedoya for his voluntary transcription of unpublished documents from the Archivo Nacional relating to the Páez, and to Professor Marcos Fulop for his valuable observations and opportune suggestions which brought much light to obscure sections of our work.

601

Analysis of Kinship Terms

Consanguineous Relatives

A--EGO's Generation:

a) Masculine EGO: Brothers and sons of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as brothers (iaktê).

b) Sisters and daughters of uncles and aunts, paternal and maternal, are grouped in a single category and classified as sisters (Pesh).